1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

country, often too rainless to produce even the minimum of grazing. It lies, equal in area to the rest of 'Iraq, in the Shamiya desert south-west and west of Euphrates, in the upper Jazira, east of Tigris below Baghdad, and above it astride the Jabal Ḥamrin. These wastes belonged to the true camel-breeding Arab nomads; their inlying fringes, near to the rivers, were the home of the half-settled shepherd sections of cultivating tribes.

The inhabitants of all these regions varied widely in the nearness of their approach to urban civilization and the reach of government. Nearest came the citizens of the towns: then the settled village-dwellers, then the tribal cultivators in their clusters of dwellings, then the marshmen, the half-settled shepherds on the desert fringe, and finally the pure bedouin. These last were and are by far the least numerous element; to regard 'Iraq as largely a bedouin territory is a common error, since much of the country has always afforded the possibility of settled life, and bedouin are found only where no other form of life is possible.

Of the population of the three wilayas, no reliable estimate could be given then or later. The census in Turkish times was conducted, with feeble and venal inefficiency, only in towns and only for conscription purposes. The figures supplied by tribesmen or urban community heads varied with their fears or hopes of liability or benefit. The wilaya of Baṣra in 1900, excluding its Arabian areas, may have contained half a million souls; that of Baghdad perhaps a million and a quarter, that of Mosul less than half a million. A total of midway between two and two and a half million people may fairly be estimated.

The races of which the population consisted, and by each of which some contribution was made, were various. Arabs formed the great majority. But who were these? The folk even of earliest Arabia were of mixed physical types, and it is as idle to look for 'racial purity' in their later offshoots as in other races of the modern world. The Arabs of 'Iraq, in 1900 as today, were Arabic-speaking "Iraqis": a unified amalgam containing physical elements of every population who, from prehistory, had entered the river valleys as invaders or immigrants, and had been assimilated to form that 'Iraqi community which Arabs of Arabia had subjugated in the seventh century A.D. and, by vigour of their arms and faith, had turned into 'Arabs' like themselves. The 'Iraqi people by the end of the nineteenth century were oblivious of—would have denied—any other cultural or ethnic associations.

Within their community the shared tradition and pride of race far outweighed, in most relationships, the differences created by variety of environment, dialect, and material interest: yet these, too, could be formidable as between town and tribe, and as between

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

existed in Baṣra and Baghdad and their suburbs; and the telephone and telegraph had become familiar or indispensable to all classes save the most backward. The new wireless transmitting station completed in 1951 at Abu Ghurayb, with the most modern design and range, secured communication with Europe and America and was used for the national broadcasting. The Development Board planned an expenditure of ID 2 million on telecommunications between 1951 and 1956.

Progress in road improvement was delayed during 1946–50 by the financial narrowness of the post-war years. This and bridge-building formed an important part of the projects[1] intended for realization in 1951–6 through the Development Board. The completion of this programme would fundamentally transform the conditions of transport and travel in 'Iraq, with far-reaching economic consequences. The 'Nairn route' to Damascus was still in regular use; its traffic was highly organized, with air-conditioned vehicles, by the original company and its imitators. The Rawanduz road was little used; the tracks leading into Najd and Persia carried no important traffic; and the trunk route to Jordan or Palestine (p. 321) lost its value when the State of Israel blocked the sea-outlet it had offered.

5. TOWN AND COUNTRY, MID-CENTURY

The population of 'Iraq, declared by the census of 1947 to be 4,800,000, had by then doubled since the century opened. Its distribution[2] was in general unchanged as between towns, inlying villages, tribal country districts, and nomads; about a quarter were town-dwellers, a fifteenth nomads, the remainder settled cultivators. Wide areas of steppe desert and of barren mountain remained, as for the foreseeable future they must, almost uninhabited; the widest of such regions, those of the administratively separated northern and southern provinces of the Shamiya desert, amounted to some two-fifths of 'Iraq's whole surface. The average density of population for the whole territory was of the order of eleven persons to the square kilometre, or, omitting the desert provinces, eighteen. The liwā with the greatest population was that of Baghdad with 800,000 people; next came Diwaniya, Muntafiq, and 'Amara. The greatest density was of 49 persons to the square

[1] The projects considered as 'main roads', with their bridges, were estimated to cost: Baṣra–'Amara–Kut–Baghdad, ID 2,800,000: Baghdad–Kirkuk–Arbil, 2,500,000: Baghdad–Sharqat, 3,450,00. Elsewhere, ID 4,450,000 was allotted for 'mountain roads', 6,176,000 for miscellaneous bridges, 1,550,000 for a Ḥilla–Najf road, 1,300,000 for Ḥilla–Diwaniya–Shamiya, and 5,250,000 for numerous other routes.

[2] For distribution of the population by administrative units, see Appendix B.

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

kilometre in Ḥilla liwā, 46 in Karbalā, 40 in Baghdad, followed by Baṣra, Muntafiq, and Sulaymaniya. In all parts, various as they were in scene and tradition, the manner of life imposed for centuries by the local environment, resources, and social groupings remained, at first glance, substantially unchanged. The following pages will offer results of a closer look at the 'Iraq society of the mid-century.

Towards the evolution of a less heterogeneous, less unmanageable public than that of 1900 there had been in fifty years some progress, but the transformation was clearly incomplete. The distinction of Sunni and Shi'i remained not only doctrinally but socially and politically recognizable. It was true that in Government service and the professions little discrimination remained, in commerce the Shi'is had gone far to occupy the empty places of the Jews, and Mujtahid influence was much diminished; nevertheless, the old sectarian division was still a persistent element of disunity, and Shi'ism which could be used as the basis for political grouping would as such doubtless evoke a Sunni reaction. A politically conscious Islamic revival—a movement never without its appeal, as the Ikhwan al-Muslimin were showing in Egypt—gave no sign of developing in 'Iraq; orthodox religion had lost much of its hold on 'enlightened' youth, education was almost wholly secular, and Islamic faith and observance grew ever rarer save among women and the elderly. If Islam, therefore, had been little used as a weapon of xenophobia, yet Shi'i claims and grievances could still inflame, the element of fanaticism still lurked, and the Shi'i tribes were still capable of following, if less readily and blindly than of old, the reactionary guidance of the Holy Cities.

Of the persistent minorities—religious, national, and racial—within the population, much has been said on other pages. The resident Persians still formed a powerless but a sensitive and embarrassing body, watched jealously from Teheran. The Turkoman villagers of Kirkuk liwā were increasingly but not yet wholly assimilated; they kept their dour character and their Turkish speech. The Yazidis were still forced by their creed and character into a social isolation uneasy but no longer formidable. The Assyrians now settled, it could be hoped, as a tolerant and tolerated 'Iraqi minority, were still unassimilable and retained qualities and influences which precluded full confidence in a trouble-free future. The other Christian communities had changed little in their outlook, organization, or place in local society. Of the Jews, seven-eighths had left 'Iraq for ever, and of the remainder, which included highly-placed citizens, it was doubtful whether their future would be one of hostile Muslim pressure or of re-established security. Of the greatest of 'Iraqi minorities, the Kurds, enough

2: Dowson G-5 (1929-30) 1932 MHI Iraq MHI

About four-fifths of the country consists of unproductive or slightly productive desert, steppe, marsh and hill masses. The productive core is divided broadly into two regions within which cultivation is practised regularly. The northern region is fed by rainfall supplemented by perennial streams rising in the mountains and, to a limited extent, by lift from the rivers. The southern region largely depends upon irrigation, supplied by canals drawn from the river system, following winter rainfall. The former may be appropriately called the Rainfall Zone, and the latter the Irrigation Zone. Actually the southward extension of the northern rainfall varies annually, while the date gardens of the Basra Liwa constitute a distinct (and of course economically a very important) study. But this does not affect the correctness of the broad picture presented.

Reference to Table I will show that the region of cultivated and cultivable land within the Rainfall Zone covers about 41,000 square

TABLE I. APPROXIMATE CLASSIFICATION OF LAND SURFACE, 1930

Expressed in square kilometres

Liwa	Total area all land	Hill mass	Cultivated Region: Rainfall Zone: ? 3% hill mass	Cultivated Region: Rainfall Zone: Plains	Cultivated Region: Irrigation Zone: Canal fed territory†	Cultivated Region: Irrigation Zone: Machine fed territory†	Additional potentially cultivable territory	Total cultivated and cultivable region	Territory containing tape holdings	Size of holdings in misharas*: 1-100	101 to 500	501 to 1,000	Over 1,001
Mosul	45,800	9,350	190	14,580	—	—	270	15,040	7,870	—	—	—	—
Arbil	16,600	7,620	150	7,010	—	—	—	7,160	2,420	7,418	728	500	—
Sulimani	9,500	6,400	130	2,420	—	—	—	2,550	2,280	—	—	—	—
Kirkuk	20,800	—	—	12,020	—	—	3,240	15,260	6,280	—	—	—	—
Diyala	16,200	—	—	710	2,760	90	260	3,820	3,410	4,092	—	546	—
Baghdad	22,100	—	—	—	1,710	2,270	890	4,870	1,500	162	220	120	360
Dulaim	124,500	—	—	—	920	630	20	1,570	920	2,344	109	121	3
Karbala	21,200	—	—	—	660	—	20	680	620	—	—	—	—
Hilla	8,100	—	—	—	4,570	330	1,630	6,530	2,380	452	364	98	82
Kut	16,400	—	—	—	4,680	3,860	2,170	10,710	2,580	—	—	—	—
Diwaniya	83,000	—	—	—	3,770	2,180	5,520	11,470	2,270	8,378	—	155	69
Muntafiq	38,700	—	—	—	4,440	270	370	5,080	6,260	—	—	—	—
Amara	19,700	—	—	—	5,670	1,010	—	6,680	110	—	10	5	50
Basra	10,900	—	—	—	610‡	60	110	780	1,190	—	—	—	—
Totals	453,500	23,370	470	36,740	29,790	10,700	14,500	92,200	40,090	—	—	—	—

*Where information was available. Such information must not be presumed to be exhaustive. A mishara = 2,500 sq. metres or thereabouts.

†Territories so classified are at present very incompletely irrigated. ‡Tidally watered date gardens.

kilometres, and that within the Irrigation Zone about 51,000 square kilometres. These figures represent 9 per cent. and 11 per cent. of the total land surface of the country respectively. The cultivation is preponderantly of an extensive character. Only a fraction of these zones, possibly from a fifth to a tenth, appears to be actually cultivated in any given year. So that land is available for a very great development of agriculture, when other factors are favourable.

The information given in the table regarding the size of holdings is derived from fiscal returns. Although the classification of these holdings by area cannot be expected to be accurate, the figures possibly give some indication of the frequency of larger and smaller holdings in the districts actually concerned. The latter must not be taken to coincide with the cultivated areas of the liwas themselves.

3. Agricultural Population

3. In any general study of the land tenure of a country it is desirable to know the numbers and distribution of the agricultural population. Thus it would greatly assist in planning development in el 'Iraq if trust-

2= Dowson G-5 (1929-30) 1932 MHI Iraq MHI

161 worthy information was available as to the rural population, their main
162 occupations (e.g. cultivation with type of crops, stock-keeping, fishing, reed cutting, the numbers of the sedentary, semi-nomadic and truly nomadic population, etc.). The figures need not be closely accurate, but they should necessarily be sufficiently reliable relative approximations to allow dependable deductions to be drawn from them. But although continuous and painstaking efforts were made to satisfy this need by the liwa authorities, it has to be admitted that no basis exists for arriving at figures that can be utilised with any confidence. Table II contains the best estimates that the liwa authorities were able to furnish; and the Census Department was not in a position to give me any better material. I include the table, because it at least represents the best local opinion of the position under the various heads cited. It should perhaps be

TABLE II. APPROXIMATE POPULATION, 1930

Expressed in thousands

Liwa	Total estimated population	Three principal towns	Nomadic tribal sections	Rural Population			Mean Density per sq. kilom. cultivated region
				Settled	Tribal	Total	
Mosul ..	320	79	45	176	20	196	22
Arbil ..	106	—	3	47	56	103	15
Sulimani ..	94	—	15	51	28	79	37
Kirkuk ..	160	—	19	63	78	141	13
Diyala ..	240	—	1	79	160	239	67
Baghdad ..	388	219	2	93	74	167	98
Dulaim ..	147	—	39	39	49	88	96
Karbala ..	90	—	2	83	5	88	136
Hilla ..	103	—	—	30	73	103	21
Kut ..	170	—	—	60	110	170	20
Diwaniya ..	338	—	58	79	101	180	40
Muntafiq ..	340	—	20	25	295	320	72
Amara ..	238	—	—	36	202	238	36
Basra ..	190	46	10	34	100	134	264
Totals ..	2,224	344	234	895	1,351	2,246	36*

*Mean density total 78,000 sq. km. cultivated region.

noted more particularly that it was found impossible to separate in any systematic way those engaged in urban, from those engaged in rural, pursuits. Finally, only the populations of Baghdad, Basra and Mosul were excluded from the latter. This explains the misleading density figure for the Karbala Liwa. It should also be noted that the figures given for the agricultural population include all those engaged in rural occupations, other than genuine nomads.

So far as the figures can be accepted the mean density of the rural population per square kilometre of the cultivated region works out at about 19 in the four liwas of the Rainfall Zone, and at about 35 in the five most typical liwas of the Irrigation Zone. These figures are very low, especially for the potentially fertile irrigable lands of the latter; but there is no reason to think that they err on this side. However, it will be appreciated that dependable statistics of the agricultural population are needed to enable development of the country to be pursued to the greatest advantage and with the greatest economy.

166 The extreme mobility of the majority of the population, especially
185 throughout the Irrigation Zone, is an important factor in the consideration of development schemes of all sorts, having regard to the general sparsity of the population and the limited resources of the country. If work can be concentrated on such schemes in a few of the most suitable areas, and facilities can be given to the population to colonise them as opportunity and occasion justify, much more rapid and satisfactory results will be obtained for the same effort and expenditure in a given

2: Dowson G-5 (1929-30) 1932 MHI Iraq MHI
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any solid economic advance in el 'Iraq. The third is the introduction and maintenance of a simple, secure and equitable land tenure, which term should be understood to include an even and readily met revenue demand. This report is only directly concerned with the last need: but in studying it, its inter-relation to the other two must be continuously kept in mind. No development of the country's agricultural resources can expect to be successful which does not take all these three needs into consideration together.

8. Comparison with Egypt

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8. During the progress of my inquiry comparisons were frequently instituted with Egypt, a country with many parallels to el 'Iraq both in its history and its natural conditions. Owing to the courtesy of the Egyptian Government I am able to compare in Table X the respective positions on certain salient points of el 'Iraq in 1929 and of Egypt in successive decades from 1882 onwards. It will be noted that during the last fifty years Egypt has more than doubled her population, added 30 per cent. to her cropped area, quadrupled her trade, and her budget, built up a substantial budgetary reserve, and largely absorbed her original external debt.

TABLE X. COMPARATIVE FIGURES, EL 'IRAQ AND EGYPT

		EL 'IRAQ	EGYPT					
		1929	1882	1890	1900	1910	1920	1929
Population in millions		2·8*	6·8	8·2	10·1	11·8	13·2	14·4
Gross cultivable area, sq. km.		90,000	32,000					
Area cropped yearly, sq. km.		?10,000	?24,000*	27,000*	30,000*	32,000*	34,000*	36,000*
Imports	lakhs of rupees	980	1,100	1,100	1,900	3,200	14,000	7,200
Exports	lakhs of rupees	560	1,800	1,700	2,400	4,000	11,800	7,800
Re-exports	lakhs of rupees	510†	14	40	80	60	350	190
Land Revenue	lakhs of rupees	168	680‡	700‡	600‡	700‡	700‡	720‡
Customs Revenue	lakhs of rupees	274	80	190	330	480	1,370	1,620
Total Budgetary Revenue	lakhs of rupees	570	1,300	1,630	1,630	2,260	4,700	5,790
Total Budgetary Expenditure	lakhs of rupees	560	1,230	1,560	1,500	2,340	4,000	5,690
Budgetary Reserve Fund	lakhs of rupees			200	1,150	790	2,370	5,540
Debt§	lakhs of rupees		10,900	13,100	13,000	13,100	12,900	12,400

*From ⅓ to ½ cropped twice. Net area cultivated in 1929 was 23,000 sq. km.

†Goods in transit, not included in imports.

‡Yield maintained constant on re-assessment following revenue settlement. Fluctuations due to remissions to unwatered land followed by extensions of irrigation.

§Mostly held in Egypt now.

Egypt is more favourably situated geographically than el 'Iraq; while Mahommed Ali Pasha did much to initiate early in the last century the reform of her land tenure which has proceeded since. And it will be seen that even fifty years ago Egypt was considerably more populous and wealthier than el 'Iraq is to-day. But el 'Iraq is by no means devoid of advantages also. She has Egypt's established success before her. Her cultivable area is larger and more diverse, so that she is in a better position to develop a varied export trade. She is free of unproductive debt and can devote all funds not absorbed by current needs, to productive purposes. And her petroliferous deposits provide her with special financial aid at the most useful moment. So that a comparable advance to that made by Egypt may be hoped for, if a comparable effort can be made.

The unavoidably lengthy duration of a general settlement of rights to land in el 'Iraq has been emphasised several times in this report: although no precise estimate of the period required is practicable in the

7: International Bank N, S-4 (1951) 1952 MH1 Iraq MH1

I. Introduction

Iraq possesses impressive potentialities for economic development. With a total population of about 5,000,000 and an area of 168,400 square miles, Iraq is sparsely populated in relation to its resources. Although all but a relatively narrow belt in the north and northeast has insufficient rainfall to sustain agriculture, the country's twin river systems—the Tigris and Euphrates—can provide large amounts of water for irrigation. Much of its soil is inherently fertile and with ample water, manpower and implements, the area under cultivation might be almost tripled. In oil, Iraq possesses not only a source of foreign exchange but also a cheap source of power and raw materials essential to the development of industry, agriculture and transportation; and it may have other mineral resources susceptible of commercial exploitation. There is little doubt that the country can ultimately maintain a much larger population on a considerably higher standard of living.

As yet, however, this economic potential is in sharp contrast to the poverty prevailing in Iraq. The standard of living of the people is extremely low. Income per capita is probably at most ID 30.[1] Almost 90 percent of the population are illiterate and many are subject to debilitating diseases such as malaria, hookworm and bilharzia. Housing and sanitation are for the most part primitive. The fundamental reasons for these conditions are low output and low productivity. Most of the manpower on the land is underemployed for a large part of the year, and considerable unemployment exists in the major cities. Vast tracts of land await reclamation and irrigation before they can be used. Much of the available water is wasted owing to lack of storage and regulation of flow. In the spring disastrous floods often inundate large areas; and in the fall water is acutely short. Agricultural output is hampered not only by the inadequate and irregular supply of water, but also by the progressive salination of the soil in the irrigated areas. Agricultural techniques are primitive, the number and quality of draft animals are inadequate and there is insufficient equipment. Industry is little developed. Although perhaps as many

[1] One Iraqi dinar equals £1 or $2.80.

7: International Bank N, S-4 (1951) 1952 MH1 Iraq MH1

438 country's foreign trade. Near it is the country's second largest oil field.

133 To the south and southwest of the irrigation zone lie the vast
211 arid tracts known as the southern and northern deserts which
233 comprise about 40 percent of the land area of Iraq. These are sparsely inhabited by roaming nomads who raise camels, goats and sheep and annually take their flocks into the river valleys in search of summer pasture.

II. The People

• 161 The first official census of the settled population in Iraq was taken in 1947 and preliminary statistics on the male and female population of each province have already been published.[1] The preliminary estimate of the enumerated population was approximately 4.6 million. This figure has been brought up to 4.8 million in the published statistics by adding a rough estimate of 200,000 for the nomads in Mosul province and in the provinces along the Euphrates. Like all other countries at a similar stage of development, Iraq has a very young population, about half being under the age of 20. Although no reliable vital statistics are available, all indications point on the one hand to a very high rate of mortality among infants and young children, and on the other, to a correspondingly high birth rate. Even under the present poor health conditions the population seems to have been increasing at a rate conjectured to be in the region of one to one and a half percent per annum. Whatever the present rate, however, it is clear that, if full advantage is taken of the ample opportunity to improve health

[1] Considering the attendant difficulties, this census may be judged a success. The information about the people of Iraq which it has already yielded and, more especially, which it can yield when tabulation is completed, is without doubt far more reliable than any estimates previously made. However, as with most first attempts at census-taking, the results have to be interpreted with great caution. Besides the figures already published, the Mission had access to certain unpublished data on four provinces—Baghdad, Mosul, Kirkuk and Basra. Much of the description of the population which follows is based on this data, but it must be noted that, although allowance was made for the fact that these four provinces are a most imperfect cross-section of the country, this fact is an additional limitation to the validity of any but the broadest conclusions.

7: International Bank N, S-4 (1951) 1952 MH1 Iraq MH1

conditions in the future, the rate could rise to two percent per annum or even higher within a comparatively short period. Obviously this possibility will have to be borne in mind in planning the development of social services such as education and housing. It also has important implications in agriculture. As the limited supply of water is more fully utilized, most of the increase in population may ultimately have to be absorbed in nonagricultural pursuits, unless water is used much more efficiently than it is now.

As the standard of social services such as health and education is higher in the cities and the opportunities for employment are more varied, the distinction between urban and rural population is an important one in considering the age and sex distribution of the people, their occupations and their standard of living. About 550,000 people live in the municipality of Baghdad, another 300,000 in the next three largest cities of Mosul, Basra and Kirkuk and some 350,000 in other towns having a population of over 15,000. Thus about 1.2 million people or a quarter of the population live in sizeable urban communities. In addition, there are about a hundred smaller municipalities having an aggregate population of under half a million. These towns are usually the administrative and market centers of the minor political subdivisions such as *qadhas* and *nahiyas* and many of them are little more than large villages; in many respects they form a semirural category intermediate between the larger towns and the villages.

There has been a strong migration from the country to the cities in recent years, particularly during the last war. The most striking examples of this can be seen in Baghdad and Basra where many thousands of "squatters" from Amara province are crowded together in makeshift huts under extremely unhygienic conditions. The peculiarly adverse conditions of life in Amara have made that province the principal source of migrants to the large cities and, indeed, to most parts of the country, but there has evidently been a substantial movement from the rural areas in general. As it is prima facie likely that these migrants would consist principally of young adults or adolescents, especially men, it is not surprising to find that the census shows a much higher proportion of the very young (under 10) and the old (over 50) in the rural areas, the disparity being even more marked among men than among

2; United Nations U-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
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131 The territory of Iraq, which is shaped like an
161 irregular triangle (see Map No. 1), covers an area of 435,223 square kilometres. At the time of the 1947 census, its population was 4,800,000 inhabitants, or 11 inhabitants per square kilometre.

162 Over 75 per cent of the population of Iraq are Arabs. They live mainly in the centre and south of the country. The next most numerous inhabitants are the Kurds (over 15 per cent of the population), who live mainly in the north and especially in the region of Mosul. There are also some Persians, Armenians, Turks, Jews and others.

133 The country, which is mountainous in the north and north-east, spreads out into the vast Mesopotamian plateau, which inclines gradually as it nears the Persian Gulf. This plateau, which was famous in ancient times for its network of irrigation channels, is now merely an arid steppe, and in some places even a desert.

Iraq is watered by the historic twin rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, which are the country's vital arteries. The Euphrates (Shatt el-Furat in Arabic) is approximately 3,000 kilometres long; its basin covers 673,000 square kilometres. The Tigris (Shatt el-Dijla), which is approximately 2,150 kilometres long, is joined by several tributaries, including the Shatt el-Gharraf, the Diyala, the Great Zab and the Little Zab. Its basin covers an area of 375,000 square kilometres. The Tigris and the Eu-

3 Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date) 1954 M1 Middle East
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The Uplands. This region, which approximately corresponds 133
to ancient Assyria, is undulating gravel steppe and rich ploughland, with some stone. Here, in an average year, the rainfall of 13 inches is sufficient to yield a winter crop without irrigation. In the districts of Kirkuk and Irbil, however, the rainfall is supplemented by the *kahriz* (underground water channels) system of water production, which is practised even more widely in Persia. Mosul, Irbil, and Kirkuk are respectively 703, 1,250, and 1,087 feet above sea-level.

Between the two rivers in this area and the south of lat. 36° N. is a wedge of uncultivable gypsum desert called al-Jezira (the Island).

The Mountain Belt. The crescent of mountain country included in the north-east frontier comprises the basins of the rivers Diala, Lesser Zab, Greater Zab, and Khabur. It is peopled by Kurds, a hardy mountain race, living an entirely different life from the Arabs of the plain and uplands. Villages are stone-built and shelved into the sides of the hills, with tall silver poplars and terraced cultivation, including vineyards and tobacco. Large areas of mountainside are covered with scrub oak; the summits provide summer pastures.

Between the Euphrates valley and the western frontiers is a large section of al-Badia, the Syrian Desert, populated only by nomad tribes of bedouin with their flocks and camels.

Climate. The climate of Iraq is extreme. In the plains the 132
January mean temperature is 44–52°F.; in July, 86–96°F. In the mountains altitude decreases temperature in both seasons and increases the rainfall to as much as 40 inches.

The importance of Iraq's geographical situation has been 131
obvious since Alexander's armies linked Europe with India twenty-two centuries ago. Through it ran not only the shortest but the easiest routes from southern Europe to the Persian Gulf and to India until the discovery of the Cape route. From the time of the Babylonian empire the trade of the Far East tended to pass through Iraq to the Levant ports on the Mediterranean. In the nineteenth century the desire to control or to prevent others controlling this route involved Great Britain, Russia, and Germany in attempts to dominate Iraq. The discovery of oil and the growth of air communications in the twentieth century have given the country a positive place in the political framework of the world and the former has provided the resources to transform it into a progressive modern nation.

The People

Population Statistics. The single official census that has been 161

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
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161 taken, in 1947, gave the total population as 4,799,500; before that there were periodical official estimates as follows:

1930	2,824,000
1935	3,560,000
1943	3,995,000

The present population is probably about 5 million. According to the census, Baghdad has a population of 364,000, Mosul 302,000, Basra 94,000, and Kirkuk 69,000, Hilla being the only other town of over 50,000 inhabitants. Significant figures for density of population could be determined only after defining habitable land and distinguishing rural populations; the accepted density figure for the country as a whole (27·4 per square mile) means little. In the total cultivable area as calculated by an English authority the average density is 102 per square mile, but in many areas the density is much more than this for the rural population alone, and in the Baghdad and Basra districts exceeds 300 and 800 respectively per square mile.

163 165 164 *Vital Statistics.* For a number of reasons, which include the inaccessibility of large areas of Iraq and the lack of doctors in the rural districts, vital statistics are not available for the country as a whole. Statistics of possibly fair accuracy are, however, published for the population of some 1,160,000 served by the health centres in the main cities of Baghdad, Basra, and Mosul; the latest, compiled for 1950, show a birth-rate of 27 and a death-rate of 12 per 1,000, with an infant mortality figure of 97 per 1,000 live births. The main causes of death were stated as old age, respiratory diseases other than tuberculosis, malaria, heart diseases, and tuberculosis.

197 *Language.* Arabic is the official and most widely spoken language. The 800,000 odd Kurds speak an Iranian language in various forms. Turkish dialects are spoken in Irbil, Kirkuk, to some extent in Khanaqin and in smaller intervening towns, and Syriac by Christian communities in northern Iraq. Other minority languages, such as Armenian, also occur, while in the Holy Cities of the south (Kerbela and Najaf) Persian is widely spoken.

RELIGIONS[1]

642 The constitution declares Islam to be the official religion of the state, but guarantees complete freedom of conscience and worship in conformity with accepted customs subject only to the maintenance of public order and morality, declares the absolute equality of all Iraqis before the law, gives communities

[1] See above, p. 51ff.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Iraq MH1

Tigris, completed in 1939; both of these control the flow of water and serve extensive irrigation schemes. In 1952 8 million acres of land were under irrigation—five times the area in 1918; in 1949–50 3,600 pumps were in use as against 143 in 1921. Two more major projects are in process of execution: the first on the Euphrates, for which the Habbaniya Flood Relief and Storage Scheme has just been completed, and a barrage across the river at Ramadi is awaiting construction; the second for the Tigris, whose waters will be drawn off into the Wadi Tharthar as a means of flood prevention. Cultivation will be increased by dams at Darband-i-Khan, Bakhma on the Diala, Dukhan on the Lesser Zab, and possibly at Bakhma on the Greater Zab, the first also serving for flood control. Schemes of lesser construction and extension are also being planned and executed for southern Iraq. In all, the Development Board has allocated nearly 53½ million dinars for projects of irrigation and flood control during the years 1951–6, of which 4 million dinars are devoted to drainage.

Land Tenure and Conditions of Cultivation

The system of land tenure and the conditions of cultivation are responsible for a further major problem in Iraqi agriculture. There is very little peasant proprietorship. Much of the land is held on various terms by Arab tribal shaikhs and Kurdish aghas (barons) or by wealthy townsmen, who divide their land in small plots among sharecroppers, to cultivate under the supervision of their agents for a return which may be as little as 30 per cent of the yield. Of the area covered by cadastral survey, 67 per cent is held in holdings of over 1,000 dunams and 24 per cent in holdings of over 10,000 dunams. Agriculture remains, on the whole, primitive and wasteful in tools and technique because of the lack of interest, on the part of the landowners, in organization and development and because of the ignorance, poverty, and lack of security or incentive—since the landlord secures the advantages of all improvements—of the cultivators. This backwardness is illustrated by the generally low yields. The disadvantages of feudal and absentee land ownership have been perpetuated by the land settlement of the last fifteen years, which, by tending to confirm the existing procedure, has made reform more difficult of fulfilment. The establishment of large farms worked directly by their owners with modern machinery is usually prevented by the almost total absence of a class of farm labourer working for cash wages. The expansion of the cultivated area, particularly in south Iraq, is hampered by the sparseness of population. Labour is specially scarce at harvest

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 MJ Middle East
Iraq MH1

161 As far as population is concerned, the great cities are only a small fraction of Mesopotamia, for the last census gives the population of the entire country as 2,849,282, and that of the three cities of Basra, Baghdad and Mosul combined is probably not much over 350,000.

177 Much of the material advance in these Mesopotamian cities is, of course, an indirect outcome of the Great War. Few countries anywhere were more affected by the changes that the war brought in its wake. It is impossible to hazard a guess as to the ultimate effect of the last ten years' catastrophic happenings in Mesopotamia. Western civilization in its strong and unfortunately too often in its bad aspects has poured in on that country like a flood. Whether the various campaigns of the war and the whole influence of the English occupation, benevolent and efficient as it is, have resulted in genuine progress is difficult to say. Under the Turks, who had governed the three *vilayets,* or districts, of Basra, Baghdad and Mosul for hundreds of years as a part of the Turkish empire, the original Arab system of government had been changed very considerably. Since the war that change has been carried much farther by the British Government. In general terms, Mesopotamia was administered by Great Britian under a mandate at first, and later in 1921 a constitutional monarchy was created with an Arab ruler, Feisul, son of King Husein of Hejaz, on the throne. Religious liberty was guaranteed by the Constitution adopted at that time. A modern parliamentary government was set up, with more or less the same organization, codified law and court procedure that we are used to at home. It is open to question whether this is in accordance with the genius of the Arab race or whether it is not imposing an alien system on the coun-

25c Wardner S-5 (no date) 1948 MI Middle East
Iraq MH1

which now amounts to one million acres. More might be added by water storage schemes. At present several large new schemes are under consideration. These involve flood control by the construction of the Bekhme dam on the Great Zab, and an extension of the Habbaniya reservoir. In addition to the Bekhme dam a scheme for flood irrigation in the Wadi Tharthar is being considered. A survey commission is now preparing a report on these developments, but so far no estimates have been made of the area of land likely to be brought into cultivation.

At present there is no shortage of labour. The population is small in relation to the area cropped, but it is growing rapidly. In 1931, according to Dowson, the total population was 2,824,000, of which 2,246,000 were estimated to be rural, including 895,000 settled population and 1,351,000 still living in tribal conditions.[1] Estimates for 1943 put the total population at 4,500,000, of which the rural population was 3,500,000. Some regions, Basra, Karbala, Dulaim, and Muntafiq are densely settled, while others, chiefly in the north, Mosul, Erbil, Kirkuk, are settled very sparsely. The area of cropped land per head is 2 acres, and the area of cultivated land perhaps as much as 4 acres.

LAND TENURE

It is clear that Iraq has greater prospects of agricultural expansion than any other Middle East country. But to the development of these potentialities the greatest obstacle is land tenure. Sir Ernest Dowson, in his classical report on the subject, says: 'The injurious effect of the existing welter of uncertainty and dispute upon both the agricultural prosperity of the country and public order, can hardly be exaggerated. Every one directly or indirectly concerned with agriculture in el 'Iraq must know many individual cases in which the development and use of the land has been gravely obstructed by the widespread insecurity and confusion of rights. Indeed the most diligent inquiry would be unlikely to reveal anywhere any appreciable number of holdings, large or small, held in undisputed possession and free from hampering and conflicting claims. It needs no great effort of the imagination to appreciate the blighting effect of these unhappy conditions prevailing throughout the country, upon the

[1] Sir Ernest Dowson, *An Inquiry into Land Tenure and Related Questions* (Letchworth Garden City Press for the Iraqi Government, 1932), p. 12.

29:Dunn S-4 (1952)1952 MI Middle East
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CHAPTER III

COTTON IN IRAQ

Iraq today is on the verge of a great transformation—from a land of want to a land of plenty. Probably the greatest rehabilitation program that has ever been undertaken in any country is in progress to make the Garden of Eden bloom again.

For generations the lack of capital had been the greatest limitation to the country's progress. Now tremendous new sums created by oil royalties are being spent in building large-scale irrigation works, constructing roads, financing industries, and improving the health and education of the people.

Since the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire after the first World War, the people have manifested a strong and continuing interest in improving their country. A great deal was done by the British during the period of their mandate, especially in the field of transportation. Probably even more was done by King Faisal when the country became a sovereign constitutional monarchy after the end of the mandate in 1932. For instance, in the last two decades the number of schools increased about seven times. More important, the people, for the first time in recent history, showed real interest in general economic improvements. More capital probably was invested in industry in the past 25 years than for several preceding centuries.

The need and the opportunity are both apparent. On the one hand, the resources are abundant. Iraq is a fairly large country of some 175,000 square miles, the size of Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee, about two-thirds of which are deserts and mountains unfit for intensive cultivation. Another 35,000 square miles, about 20 per cent of the land area, are in the Tigris-Euphrates lowlands, the largest alluvial area in the world, almost twice the size of the deltas of Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana combined. Extensive highlands between the lowlands and the mountains are excellent for cultivation.

BACKGROUND

This great Mesopotamia, or "land between the rivers," was once one of the wealthiest regions of the world—the home of Adam and Eve, the Sumerian princes, Nebuchadnezzar, and the Arabian Nights, and the site of Babylon and Nineveh. This land has fostered at least three distinct civilizations through 5,000 years of history, and it cradled our present Western society.

These fertile soils are said by historians to have supported 15 to 20 million people in Biblical days. Now 5 million struggle to keep alive amidst

29:Dunn S-4 (1952)1952 MI Middle East
Iraq MHI

161 311 poverty probably unequalled anywhere in the world. Throughout the centuries, production has declined as neglect and misuse have drained the fertility from the soils and permitted salt to seep in and ruin for cultivation thousands of acres in this Garden of Eden.

[146] 511 The people, undernourished and ravaged by disease, have degenerated as the land has deteriorated. One would never guess that the present inhabitants, oppressed by poverty and ignorance, were in any way related to those men who shaped the history of the world for so many centuries.[1] Many

1/1 [Text continues on p. 88--Analyst]

Table 27

439 IRAQ: Specified Exports as Per Cent of Total Exports
1937, 1949, 1950, and 1951
Value

Item	1937	1949	1950	1951
	Per Cent			
Crude Petroleum	65	53	51	51
Barley	7	20	19	21
Dates	6	11	10	10
Others	22	16	20	9
Total	100	100	100	100
Total Value Converted to Millions of Dollars	79	92	126	166

SOURCE: International Monetary Fund.

Table 28

IRAQ: Exports to Specified Countries as Per Cent of Total Exports
1937, 1949, and 1950
Value

Country	1937	1949	1950
	Per Cent		
France	51	25	38
United Kingdom	18	14	12
United States	7	2	6
India	2	9	3
Netherlands		6	7
Others	22	42	34
Total	100	100	100

SOURCE: International Monetary Fund.

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647 652 185 "We have been impressed by the ingenuity of the attempt to cover a large part of the cost of the existing centres by the voluntary contributions of the direct beneficiaries. It is clear, however, that the method of raising funds by voluntary contributions is preventing the rapid expansion of the benefits of the scheme to cover the majority of the rural population. It may therefore be desirable, as part of the land redistribution and fiscal reform of the country now in progress, to set aside a large proportion of the national revenues resulting from taxation to provide free basic services for the welfare of the fellaheen, as and when the necessary personnel and supplies become available.

"If the provision of free services is thought to compromise the principle of self-help upon which the centres have been founded, an alternative might be to maintain the existing structure of State subsidy to locally contributed funds, but at the same time to introduce the principle of compulsory membership, and individual contribution to running expenses, on a system of local option. That is to say, in each village the majority of adult inhabitants would decide whether the local contribution to the cost of a centre (which would be open to all free of cost) should be met from a graduated levy. The amount of each individual contribution would be determined on according to capacity to pay or on some other equitable basis."

OOU 42. At the meeting of the inter-ministerial committee which we attended at the close of our mission, we were invited to participate in a discussion of ways and means of ensuring that the technical advice and guidance, - which already exist in each of the departments of public service and have been created for the welfare of the community at large - are better co-ordinated and decentralized and made available more directly and more extensively to the fellaheen. A full exchange of views took place and we were happy to find that the Ministers had anticipated many of the criticisms and suggestions that had occurred to our minds.

IRAQ

(Visited 8 - 12 January)

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642 131 161 431 423 43. Iraq is a constitutional monarchy, with territory covering 168,400 square miles and a population of approximately 5,000,000. The country has great economic potentialities which until recently have not been adequately exploited. Income per capita does not yet exceed 30 Iraqi dinars (approximately US$84). In the past the predominance of the tribal system has impeded a redistribution of lands now recognized as necessary. The abundance of government-owned lands which will become cultivable under modern methods and extended irrigation is expected to facilitate the distribution of land on the basis of small property ownership without intermediary of tribal chiefs.

433 185 Iraq has large possibilities of land reclamation: i.e. the country can feed a larger population than it actually has, and there is in the near future no danger of over-population, even assuming that the death rate is lowered by various measures.

657 185 44. We were assured by one Minister with whom we had the privilege of discussing the standard of living of so many of the poorer sections of the community that the evils from which the country was suffering were well known, and that a partial explanation of many of the difficulties hitherto experienced in effecting necessary improvements was to be found in a lack of co-ordination between existing health and education

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 M1 Middle East
IRAQ MHI

Chapter X

OIL AND DEVELOPMENT OF IRAQ

IRAQ MAY SERVE as an excellent study of the relation between oil production and the social and economic patterns of an underdeveloped country. Production of oil began almost simultaneously with the emergence of the independent state. Though Iraq's social and economic traditions were set when it was part of the Ottoman Empire and seriously bedeviled the growth and development of the new kingdom, the special Iraqi national patterns were being molded during the very period the oil was flowing in ever increasing quantity through pipelines hundreds of miles long to world markets. Moreover, Iraq had the benefit of Western guidance, the British administration, at first, and advice afterwards; yet during the first twenty-five years of oil production it would seem that the country did not progress as spectacularly as the oil figures (from 45,000 tons in 1927, to some 28,000,000 tons in 1953). The basic obstacles to the rapid social and economic development of the people and the transformation of the country could apparently not be overcome by the mere availability of oil, some technical knowledge, and royalties from the oil industry.

Before drawing any conclusions, we should examine some fundamental facts about the country, the people, and the factors which operated in Iraq to create the conditions prevailing there.

Land and People

The area of Iraq is about 175,000 square miles, and it has a population of approximately 5,000,000 people.[1] Because of the lack of sufficiently reliable data, as well as the cultivation

[1] Tabulations of the returns of the first census, taken on Oct. 19, 1947, showed a population of 4,799,500. U. S. Dept. of Commerce, *International Reference Service*, Dec. 1948, 2.

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 MI Middle East
IRAQ MH1

creased. Of all the Middle Eastern countries, Iraq has all the necessary requisites for a sound and rapid economic development, especially in the agricultural sector. It has a very considerable quantity of land ready for immediate cultivation, so defined by the most conservative standards, and with modern methods very great stretches now defined as uncultivable could be improved and brought into the cultivable class; it has an abundance of water for irrigation as well as for power, and it has at its disposal enormous quantities of cheap fuel both in petroleum and natural gas.

What, then, have been the economic, educational, health and social conditions of the country? As regards the size and growth of the population, even today, more than thirty years since the creation of the Kingdom of Iraq, it would be very difficult to state categorically the percentage increase of the population. The accuracy of the figure advanced by the October 1947 census has been questioned by the International Bank Mission.[7]

Despite substantial strides in public health—an increased number of hospitals, dispensaries and doctors—during the first thirty years of the existence of the Kingdom, the Bank Mission reported in 1951 that the infant mortality rate was very high, "perhaps as much as 250 per 1,000 births," and that there was a very high incidence of such endemic diseases as trachoma, hookworm, bilharzia, malaria and dysentery. Malaria was reported to cause 50,000 deaths every year. In 1948 no less than 6,657,474 visits to medical institutions for treatment were reported, and 1,291,225 cases of infectious diseases were treated. Of these, 603,698 were malaria and 524,740 trachoma.[8] In 1944 the total number of doctors in the country was 528; in 1951 it was reported that there was one doctor to every 7,000 in the population, which would make a total of about 915 doctors, but a large percentage of them were concentrated in Bagdad.[9]

There can be no doubt that educationally the country progressed considerably from the stage in which it was in 1921, but all in all the sum total was not very impressive; the rate of

[7] International Bank, *Iraq Mission Report*, 128.
[8] *Ibid.*, 49.
[9] *Ibid.*, 53; Hashim Al Witry, *Health Services in Iraq* (1944), 8. In 1945 there were, according to a British report, 569 doctors registered in Iraq. Since 308 were in Bagdad, this made approximately one doctor for every 15,400 in the population in the provinces, and one doctor to every 2,700 in Bagdad. Great Britain, Overseas Economic Survey, *Iraq* (1949), 30-31.

132 year in the plains of the delta region and 12 to 16 inches in the upland districts, while in some sections of the mountains it increases to around 50 inches. The summer temperatures are uniformly high and may reach 110° to 125° F. in the central and the southern provinces. The daily fluctuations are slight in the Gulf region, but they become more pronounced toward the interior. During the winter months snows are rare outside the highland districts, but frosts are occasionally encountered as far south as Basra. In January, the coldest month, the mean maximum temperature averages 60° to 65° F. at Basra, 58° to 61° F. at Baghdad and 50° to 55° F. at Mosul; the mean minimum temperature, 38° to 42° F., 44° to 47° F. and 34° to 36° F., respectively. The mean maximum temperatures approximate 104° to 110° F. in all 3 localities in July, while the mean minimum temperatures range from 76° to 82° F. in Basra to 72° to 75° F. in Mosul. In midsummer the mean daily relative humidity rarely rises above 25 to 35 per cent on the plains, although it is often excessive in the Gulf area. Northwest winds, known locally as the *shamal*, blow irregularly throughout the year. They are especially strong and desiccating during the summer months, and, in the south, are usually laden with dust and sand.

POPULATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Population

161 The population, according to the official census for 1947, was estimated at 4,799,500, including an unknown number of Bedouin, roughly calculated at about 250,000. The majority of the inhabitants are of mixed Arabic stock, representing a relatively homogeneous blend of ancient Semitic and Indo-European strains which has evolved over
162 centuries of successive conquests. About 95
795 per cent of the people are Moslems; slightly over one half are Shiites; and most of the
[131] remainder are Sunnites. The Kurds, who

p. 22(A)

Sephardic origin. The majority have since migrated to Israel, while probably less than 10,000 remain, subject to certain restrictions. Over 130,000 were transported to Israel by the Iraqi government in 1950-51. About 5,000 Palestinian refugees have settled in the country since the Arab-Israeli conflict in 1948. Small numbers of British, American and other nationalities also reside in the larger cities.

As a whole, Iraq is sparsely settled, with the population concentrated in the river valleys and in the rain-irrigated highland districts of the north. The most densely populated areas are found in the river valleys of the northern delta. In 1947, the density of population in the provinces of the upper delta region was calculated at 131 per square mile in Hilla and 104 in Baghdad. In the northern provinces of Mosul, Kirkuk and Erbil it averaged 31 to 39 per square mile, and in Sulaimaniya, on the eastern frontier, 62 per square mile. In the south, it ranged from 75 per square mile in Basra province to 42 in Amarah, while in Dulaim, on the upper reaches of the Euphrates, it did not exceed 10 per square mile. The population is essentially rural: over three quarters of the inhabitants live in some 8,000 small villages or in semipermanent settlements. The Bedouin, representing about 5 to 8 per cent of the total population, roam the deserts with their flocks, but many migrate seasonally to the towns in search of work. There are only 7 cities with over 40,000 inhabitants. The population of Baghdad, the capital, was estimated at between 900,000 and 1 million in 1952, including over 500,000 in the metropolitan area and several hundred thousand in the surrounding suburbs. The population of Mosul, a commercial center on the upper Tigris, totaled about 150,000, and of Kirkuk, the metropolis of the oil region, almost 75,000. Basra, the chief port, located on the Shatt al Arab, had a population of 90,000 to 100,000.

In spite of considerable progress in education within the last 30 years, the majority

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
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SUMMARY

Iraq encompasses the valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates rivers, and is associated historically with Mesopotamia, the home of one of the oldest civilizations on record. It has been an independent sovereign state since 1932. The population, which was estimated at 4,799,500 in 1947, is 95 per cent Moslem and predominantly Arab. Extensive petroleum resources and date cultivation contribute to the wealth of the country, which is still relatively underdeveloped in other respects. The public health activities of the Iraqi government are centralized in the Ministry of Health, with headquarters in Baghdad. The Ministry is responsible for the maintenance of preventive and curative services, which are carried out in the provinces through subordinate provincial organizations. Municipal departments exist in Baghdad and the principal cities, but in other areas the enforcement of sanitary regulations devolves upon the government officers. In 1950, there were 82 civilian hospitals in the country, with an aggregate capacity of 4,901 beds, or slightly more than 1 bed per 1,000 population. Almost one half of the total beds were located in the Baghdad area. Approximately 82 per cent of the hospitals are supported by the government. Also in 1950, 433 dispensaries were functioning in various parts of the provinces, 403 under the jurisdiction of the government health authorities.

The water supplies in the towns and the villages of the alluvial plain are derived from rivers, canals, lakes and wells; in the northern highlands, from streams, springs and wells. All the urban supplies are obtained from rivers, except in Erbil and Sulaimaniya, where spring sources are utilized. The water supplies of the larger cities are treated, but those in the rural areas are unprotected and often polluted. There are no sewerage systems. In the cities, cesspits and septic tanks are employed for the disposal of sewage; in the rural villages, the means are more primitive. The dietary

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